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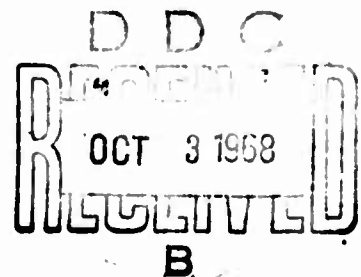
VALUES, ATTITUDES, AND MULTI-NATIONAL
DECISION-MAKING

Introduction

by

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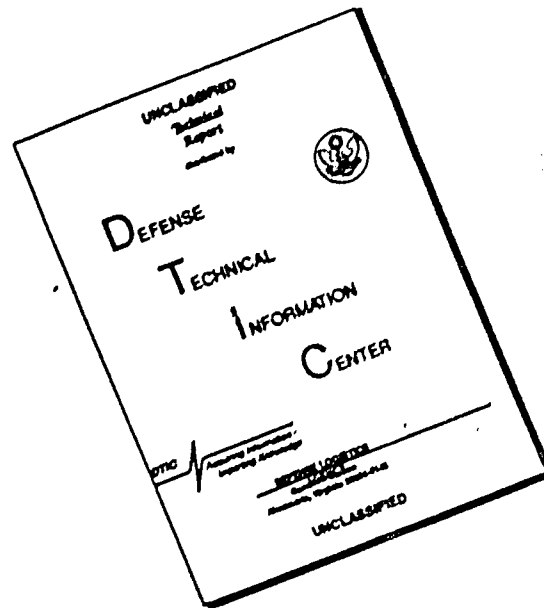
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Introduction

There is a close analogy between the world-wide problems of poverty and war at the international level and the problems of poverty and civil disorder on the national level. In both cases an understanding of the aspirations, values, and opinions of all parties involved is of fundamental importance, both for the successful implementation of programs to even out the differences creating tension and conflict and for the avoidance of escalation of smaller conflicts into disastrous ones. This project is oriented towards the study of the values and opinions about interpersonal, social and international relations of future elites in a representative number of nations of the world.

One premise underlying the study is that "A more complete understanding of others' values, attitudes, and ways of thinking increases one's ability to communicate effectively with them." Such communication may be across the conference table, through the medium of a strategy which one pursues, or simply that one behaves in a certain way due to his expectations about how others will respond in the long or short run. From this point of view information on the basic values and attitudes of future decision-makers in all nations will be of immeasurable value in helping them to deal more effectively with military, diplomatic, and political decision-makers of other countries as they pursue their careers, adding to the possibility that mankind's common interest in survival may override misunderstanding and misperception of the goals and values of others, by providing a common framework within which national differences in real interests may be seen.

The conflicts of the world today are, however, only partly based on misperceptions and lack of mutual understanding of the values of others; the conflicts are themselves indicators of the large differences found in the international system. The aim is therefore also to understand some of the factors which create the antagonism and lack of common interest at the international level. The focus of the project is on the impact of the nation-state on the values and opinions of its citizens in nations differing markedly in political system, level of industrialization, investment in military and police forces, and size. Finally, it is a major aim of the project to provide some insight into the background of the student unrest which today, and probably more so in the future, is an important source of political change.

The research effort consists of two projects, each giving possibilities for independent research in its own right:

1. A three-nation simulation project using the Inter-Nation Simulation as the basic data-gathering vehicle; and
2. A multi-national student survey using questionnaire techniques as the major data-gathering vehicle and including about 20 participating nations.

The survey is designed to measure basic values and opinions of university students towards interpersonal, social and international relations, students being the social group from which future elites are most likely to be recruited. The simulation study, which preceded the survey study, is designed to provide a basis for an assessment of the extent to which values and opinions held by students are guidelines for action when students are placed as decision-makers in a situation simulating the international system. The information gained from the simulation study is to be compared with the insight obtained from the study of the actual behavior of students today, thus providing a broad basis for the understanding of how values and opinions are transformed into action.

Further, all the data collected in each of these projects are made available to each researcher participating in the projects, and the projects have been designed so as to cover wide ranges of interest and provide a basis for cross-cultural research from many more points of view than the major ones mentioned here. No participating researcher is required to agree with the aims of the project as stated here and every one is free to publish as he wishes, apart from extensive studies using data from any single nation other than his own.

John Raser is responsible for the whole project; John Raser, David Finlay, and Claus Iversen are responsible for the coordination of the student survey and the analysis of the data collected according to the points of view stated here. Reports on the study will be issued as various phases of the project are completed, including references to, and if possible copies of, all articles and papers growing out the research based on all the data gathered in this project. Eventually, we hope to publish the results of the analysis indicated as a more integrated volume.

Background

Cross-cultural research has always had a dual thrust. On the one hand has been an interest in what similarities in the human psyche, cognitive processes, and behavioral patterns are universal despite cultural diversity, and on the other hand has been an interest in what differences in these things can be attributed to cultural context.¹ A review of recent research leaves the impression that while most investigators begin with a hypothesis of great cultural differences, there is a tendency for them to find greater similarity than they expected. For example, Charles Osgood (1964), in a study carefully designed to eliminate cultural parochialism in design, found that in 16 national-language groups the structure of semantic space was very similar and closely followed the evaluative, potency, activity, factor structure originally derived in the United States. Rettig and his colleagues (Rettig and Pasamanick, 1962; and Rettig, 1964) have found that not only are Korean, American, and Indian college students extremely similar in their moral and ethical systems but that they tend to be more like one another than any of the three groups is like its parents. In other words, their findings indicate that the cultural gap is smaller than the generational gap! A recent issue of Sociometry (Vol. 29, No. 4, December, 1966) devoted to cross-cultural research leaves the strong impression that each of the investigators was surprised at unexpected similarities in human behavior which seemed to be independent of the cultural context, and it abounds with such terms as "the psychic unity of mankind" (p. 377) and "cross-cultural generality" (p. 441). Finally, a recent study by Raser (1967) on characteristics of political decision-makers indicates that

¹ Another problem anthropologists often consider is that of explicit definition of the word "culture." It is perhaps best summarized in A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. 47, No. 1, 1952, 181 ff. Rather than wrestle with this problem here, we are assuming that different nations constitute separate cultures, and it is in this sense that we use the word, i. e., to signify national, linguistic, socio-economic, religious, racial, and geographical distinctions. If the discriminating reader is disturbed by our use of the word "cultural" in these reports, then he may substitute the word "national" in each instance without doing violence either to the concepts on which the research is based or to the facts regarding the conduct of the research itself.

twentieth-century national political leaders are surprisingly similar in background and personality, regardless of the cultural setting.

Yet, while there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that cultural differences may be less than previously expected, and that they are in any case becoming less pronounced as the world becomes a more unified information system, it is certain that the examination of cultural differences is still indispensable to the development of useful behavioral sciences knowledge. The methods used to study cultural similarities and differences have probably tended to impose an artificial similarity on the results obtained, while such real differences in values, attitudes, and decision-making processes as do exist can have profound repercussions for communication processes and national and international behavior.² Thus, a group of teams who are interested in this problem of the impact of culture on decision-making and who have had past experience in working together in this area collaborated on the initiation of the studies being reported.

In September, 1966, the leaders of these five national research teams³ met in La Jolla, California, to design the research. Based on an initial agreement to study cultural differences in decision-making, the conference was able, in five days, to design the initial experiment. One of the first decisions was to use a variation of the Inter-Nation Simulation as the basic data-gathering vehicle, but to gather additional data and avoid the problem of single-method bias as much as possible by supplementing it with verbal response instruments. The choice to use simulation was made partially because each of the teams had had past experience in its use, and partially because we believe that it fills a special gap in social science research methods.

²An example used by Osgood (*op. cit.*, p. 187) to illustrate this is the fact that the scale "rugged-delicate" is clearly a potency scale for Americans (rugged/strong, delicate/weak, and that strong is good and weak bad for Americans) while for the Japanese, it is clearly an evaluative scale (delicate/good, rugged/bad). The implications for international communication processes are obvious.

³In Japan, the Institute of Behavioral Sciences, Tokyo (Kinhide Mushakoji); in Norway, the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (Mari Ruge and Johan Galtung); in Denmark, the Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, Copenhagen (Anders Boserup); in Mexico, the Group for the Study of International Tensions, Mexico City (Hector Cappello); and in the United States, the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, La Jolla (John Raser).

One method is the simple laboratory study, in which all variables but one are held constant, some manipulation is made, and outcome behaviors are studied. A familiar current example of such research, which scholars hope will have relevance to international relations, is the experimentation with "Prisoner's Dilemma" and other two-person games played with a simple pay-off matrix. While the simplicity of design yields precision and control, findings do not usually hold up in the complex social situations in which one is interested. Another kind of research is carried out in the field; surveys are taken, groups observed, or historical cases analyzed. But here the problems of data control and non-reproducibility become crucial. The experimenter cannot keep track of the possibly relevant variables--they are lost in the complex setting.

Simulations provide a way of meeting some of these deficiencies: subjects can be placed in a complex but controlled environment in which the impact of the variables can be traced; several variables can be manipulated and the rich data can be preserved; moreover, such studies can be replicated as often as desired. Scientific progress has usually been purchased by narrow encapsulation--at the expense of scope. Simulations are an effort to escape this traditional dilemma.

The Inter-Nation Simulation, or INS, is a laboratory "game" composed of a number of simulated "nations," each with different parameters, constituting an "international" system. Each nation includes a mathematical model of the major economic and political variables operating in a nation-state; human "decision-makers" (the participants) who represent chiefs of state, ministers of defense, secretaries of state, opposition parties, and so on; and "resources" which the participants allocate to accomplish their goals. The international system has itself certain resources and relationships with respect to trade, aid, communication, espionage, alliances, treaties, war, etc. There may be a world newspaper, an international organization, a mutual defense force, or nearly any other element present in the real international system. At the start of play, a history can be given which establishes a starting condition. The game may be played out over several "periods" each representing a year, a month, or other time unit. During each period the players make a variety of decisions, the effects of which are determined by a team of calculators, and given to the players in terms of new resource levels, new political and economic situations, and so on. In short, the simulation is designed to present the players with an environment as nearly like that of decision-makers in the real world political arena as it is feasible to make it.

The INS has been used in the United States to study a variety of problems. Brody (1963) used American high school students in 17 "runs" of the INS to explore the effect of spreading nuclear weapons technology. He

began his game with a tight bi-polar world--two dominant nations, each possessing nuclear weapons and heading alliances of smaller non-nuclear nations. Through experimental intervention Brody gradually spread the nuclear capability until all the nations in the system had nuclear striking forces. He found that when this happened, the communications patterns changed among the nations, the smaller expressed far more independence from the larger, interaction across bloc lines increased, and bi-polarity changed to multi-polarity. Crow and Solomon (1962) used U.S. Naval Officer trainees in a similar model to explore the effect of one nation's employment of a "GRIT" strategy (Osgood, 1962) by introducing unilateral tension reduction initiatives into a spiraling Cold War antagonism. Their findings, in the single "run" conducted, were consonant with Osgood's suggestions that such a strategy would result in a gradual reduction of system tension. Bloomfield (1964) has used his role-playing games to study a variety of aspects of communication during crises, treating each play of the game as a case study from which hypotheses and insights might be derived. Raser and Crow (1964) have used the INS to study the impact of one nation's achieving an invulnerable nuclear retaliatory force, using U.S. Navy recruits in 12 replications of a five-nation "world." They found that when one nation obtained invulnerability it was seen as stronger, more threatening, more rash, more belligerent, and more likely to precipitate war. It became less interested in formal arms control agreements, while other nations became more interested. The probability of accidental, catalytic, and pre-emptive wars was less, and there was some shifting of alliance patterns. The most unexpected finding was that with invulnerability the number and size of wars greatly increased--both nuclear and conventional wars. This appeared to be due to the fact that the invulnerable nation became more willing to engage in policies which led other nations to start desperation wars, and also became more willing to engage in war to achieve its own goals. That this finding was not predicted in the American literature on invulnerability--most of which deals with potential American invulnerability--argues that our approach to issues of international politics is often parochial and nationalistic, and therefore has blind spots which might be eliminated by such multi-national sharing of ideas as incorporated into the present research.

Robinson (1964) has used Navy personnel in an INS to explore the nature of crisis decision-making. Defining a crisis as a situation in which there are both unexpected major threats to important goals and values and a short response time, they found that during crises the tendency to search for information and for alternative forms of behavior is the same or less, as compared with non-crisis conditions, and that to the extent such searching does take place, it is more apt to be for information than for alternatives. Finally, Crow and Noel (1965) developed the "Algonian Exercise" to explore the impact of personality, organization, and situation on decision-making.

Using U.S. Navy recruits differentiated along the personality variables of propensity for risk-taking, interpersonal belligerency, and nationalism, they explored the interactions of these with individual versus group decision-making in situations involving high, versus low, probabilities of a favorable outcome. They found that those more willing to take risks, those more belligerent, and those more nationalistic chose more violent responses to crisis, but that these responses were modified in a variety of ways by the organization of decision-making and by the situation. However, far more of the variance was accounted for by personality than by organization or situation requiring decision. These findings point directly to the necessity of taking into account personal differences--background, personality, ideological and cultural--when assessing decision-making behavior.

The first cross-cultural INS experiment was conducted in the summer of 1964. Three staff members of the Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, Dr. Wayman Crow, a social psychologist; Dr. Lawrence Solomon, a psychologist; and Dr. John Raser, a political scientist, had long been interested in cross-cultural simulation research. In the spring of 1963, Dr. Solomon discussed simulation with the Group for the Study of International Tensions of the University of Mexico, Mexico City, as a result of which WBSI was asked to train members of the Group in the use of the model employed in the Raser and Crow study cited above. This Mexican team conducted two replications of the invulnerability study, using psychology students of the University of Mexico, and the results were compared with those of the American runs. Both the United States and Mexican participants reacted similarly to invulnerability of the nuclear retaliatory force: there was emotional let-down following crises; there were frequent exhibitions of duplicity; there was intensified interest in disarmament following a war scare; there was an absence of aggressive actions following warning of attack; both groups were intensely involved in the simulation and reacted positively to the simulation as an educational experience; and in both groups the generation of a "game culture" was evident. Responses of the two groups differed in the following ways: the Mexicans wrote 70% more messages; they put much more emphasis on international issues of peace, disarmament, and the International Organization than did the Americans, but almost completely neglected internal economic growth. The Mexicans tended to share power among decision-makers more than the Americans, and to place much more emphasis on formality and diplomatic language in communications. Finally, questionnaire responses indicated that the Mexicans responded to stress and frustration more passively, while the Americans responded more actively (Crow and Raser, 1964).

Another cross-cultural contact involved a simulation in Washington, D. C., using foreign diplomats as subjects (Meier, 1966). This study was not directed to comparing subjects' responses on the basis of culture but

simply to enriching the simulation by including subjects with a variety of cultural backgrounds. One major finding of this study is that the diplomatic community does not seem to provide a good representation of cultural differences, for diplomats tend to represent a unique culture of their own.

Meanwhile, teams in other countries began to carry out simulation research. A group at the Institute for Behavioral Sciences in Tokyo conducted several runs of a modified version of the INS, including an attempt to simulate the Vietnam situation (Seki, 1966). Another "Vietnam simulation" has been used at the University of Lancaster, England (Laulicht and Martin, 1966). Both studies have produced results which are interesting in their own right, but so far, with the exception of the Mexican replication of the invulnerability study, no attempt had been made to collaborate in research so that studies in various countries were comparable in terms of model design, subject selection, and experimental manipulations. And it is just such comparability of studies which can lead to useful information about cultural differences in decision-making behavior.

The Current Multi-National Effort

Phase I:

With this background, the conferees set out to design a study which would be exciting to all, and which could be replicated in each country. Two days were spent in fairly unstructured discussions of how to go about this, in which misunderstandings and disagreements were resolved and mutual interests were extracted. By the third day, it had been generally agreed that each country would conduct one or more runs of an Inter-Nation Simulation, that every effort would be exerted to make them exactly comparable from country to country, that a questionnaire would be developed to measure the attitudes and values of the subjects, and that we were ready for specific planning to draw up a detailed research design. This was accomplished in the second half of the conference, with the initial design statement as follows.

Design: Each of the participating institutions (except the Danish, which will assist the Oslo group and also reduce all data) will conduct two runs of the Inter-Nation Simulation. Each run will be composed of nine 60-minute periods, with a 10-minute break between each period. Each run will require 2-1/2 days: the first half day for orientation, the next day and a half for the "game" itself, and the final half day for post-testing and debriefing. To avoid "end-effect," during the orientation the subjects will be told that the run will last for twelve periods.

The subjects will be college students drawn from the political and social science faculties of universities in each country; psychology students and those with previous simulation experience will be eliminated. They will be 18-25 years old, mostly male; they must have completed two years of college study, and will be drawn from classes taught by the participants or their colleagues. The subjects will be randomly assigned to run, nation, and office.

The model will be an eight-nation INS developed at WBSI and hitherto used for educational purposes. It is essentially self-calculating, and eliminates many of the elaborate paraphernalia of some of the earlier models. The model will be modified in several ways to include the research interests of each participant, e.g., the newspaper will consist of randomly selected messages only. There will be only one kind of military force--there will be no distinction between conventional and nuclear forces. The trade forms will be changed so as to emphasize the role of economic aid. It will be possible to break diplomatic relations, cutting off direct communications with another country and thus forcing the use of an intermediary. At the beginning, one of the nations will not be recognized by two of the others. The economic aspects of trade, e.g., shipping costs, advantages to trading within one's own bloc, will more closely resemble those in the real world. Provisions will be made for using technical aid, subversion, propaganda, and other non-military means to influence other countries. The "world" will include a divided nation, one half of which is excluded from the International Organization, and the other half is unallied. Initially, there will not be diplomatic relations between the two halves, nor between each of them and the major opponent world power. It will be possible for the decision-makers in a country to overthrow the central decision-maker by a coup d'etat. There will be elections, but no revolutions, though the participants will not be aware of this.

These runs will be conducted in Japan during January and March, in Norway during February, and in the United State and Mexico during March, 1967.

It was decided that culture would be the only independent variable. Thus, the focus of study can be on the effect of cultural differences on decision-making in the simulation. At the same time, every effort will be made to insure that

useful findings within cultures also emerge. Thus, a questionnaire to measure attitudes, values, personality characteristics, and demographic traits of all the subjects is being developed, and will be administered in each country. This will make it possible to relate these variables to behavior in each culture, and to compare the nature of the interactions across cultures.

The simulate data will include all the forms used in the course of play, all messages (which must be written), tape recordings of international organization meetings, and questionnaires administered to each participant after each period. Thus it will be possible not only to reconstruct each run in virtually all its detail, but to have a record of the perceptions of the participants as well.

It was agreed that all data would be sent to Denmark for reduction to IBM cards; these will be sent to the participating teams, giving them access to all the data from all countries.

Tasks of detailed preparation were divided among the conferees. Anders Boserup and Mari Ruge will develop the questionnaire to be used after each period. Kinhide Mushakoji and Hector Cappello will develop means for complete coding of the messages and message flow patterns. These tasks are to be completed by October 15. John Raser will make the modifications in the model, synthesize all suggestions, and prepare the final "kits" to be shipped to each participant by December, 1966. In addition, Raser, Cappello, and others of the WBSI team will develop the questionnaire to be used for measuring values, attitudes, and other personal traits of the subjects; this is to be ready by mid-January, 1967.

Manuals will not be translated as each experimenter will orient the participants, but forms and questionnaires will be translated in each country, using English to Japanese or Spanish, and back to English technique for checking the accuracy of translations. The research in Norway will be conducted entirely in English. Message forms, questionnaires, and other data will be so coded that no translation will be necessary to reduce the data to cards.

In sum, a specific design was established, and all details of planning were either worked out or provisions were made for working them out later on the basis of the Conference discussions.

On the basis of these plans, each team set up a budget; these were compared, and ways of decreasing research costs were suggested. The resources available to each of the national groups, supplemented by the very limited assistance funds available from WBSI, appear adequate to cover the research and data-reduction costs.

This report does not include all the fine-structure of the design--the specific methods for coding messages, the focus of the inter-period questionnaires, or the exact details of the model.

Data Analysis: The conference participants did not formalize any hypotheses, but several informal ones were delineated. The Japanese and Mexican subjects are expected to use more passive means of influence than the Norwegians or Americans, and to internalize reactions to stress rather than to respond overtly. The correlation between military strength and perceptions of national security is expected to be higher in the United States than elsewhere. The subjects' scores on active-passive personality dimensions are expected to influence their emphasis on economic, diplomatic, military, or cultural aspects of the simulation. Other values and attitude characteristics are expected to correlate with perceptions and communication behavior. And so on. In addition, it was emphasized that five research teams will each have a large bank of cross-national data upon which they can draw in future years for testing many hypotheses.

Cooperation Procedures: The last half day of the Conference was spent in discussing general guidelines for conducting the research. In general, it was agreed that all data would be open to all; that all communications would be shared; that any individual could publish at times and in a manner of his own choosing; that our purposes would be entirely scientific and would have no polemical ends; that we would like to see this year's effort as the beginning of long-term collaboration; and that we would welcome cooperation with any other group, in any other country which was willing

to subscribe to these principles. The detailed statement of the guidelines is to be worked out by Mari Ruge and Anders Boserup.

Now, two years later, the research has been carried out very much as anticipated. It became impossible to complete the runs in Mexico due to political conditions at the University, but the data from the other three countries have been reduced and are being analyzed. The report by Mari Ruge is the first product of the study.

Phase II:

A year after this initial conference, the group met again in Copenhagen and considered the next phase of the research.⁴ A new questionnaire was designed to a large extent on the basis of the questionnaire used in the simulation study, so as to make it possible to study the relationship between values measured by the questionnaire and behavior in a simulated world. This questionnaire has now been pretested, modified, translated into a variety of languages, and administered in about 18 countries as of the summer of 1968. We hope to gather data in a total of 25 to 30 countries. The general design of this second project, as stated in information sheets sent along with invitations to participate, is as follows.

The Questionnaire: The questionnaire was pretested in Denmark, South Korea, and the United States and includes the following dimensions:

1. General background information about the subject (pp. 1-2).
2. Measures of the extent of his political and social activity (p. 3).
3. Measures of his information and concern about international affairs (pp. 4-5).
4. A scale of personal and social values, developed by Dr. Leonard V. Gordon of the U.S. Army Personnel Research Office (pp. 14-17). The scale is

⁴During this conference, Claus Iversen of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Research in Denmark joined the group as a major investigator, and several months later, David Finlay of the University of Oregon did the same. It is these two, along with John Raser, who are carrying the major administration and coordination work of the second phase of the effort.

discussed in L. V. Gordon, "Q-Typing of Oriental and American Youth," Journal of Social Psychology, 1967, 71, pp. 185-195, where further references are given.

5. A measure of the extent to which these personal values are projected into national and international issues (p. 6).
6. A measure of attitudes towards major social, national and international issues (pp. 7-13).
7. The Cantril "self-anchoring scale" (p. 5). The scale is discussed in H. Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965.
8. Several open-ended questions designed to elicit views from the subjects regarding their concerns about issues, and to act as reliability checks on the entire questionnaire (p. 18).
9. A scale on attitudes towards educational problems developed by Dr. John Jordan of Michigan State University. The scale is discussed in detail by F. N. Kerlinger in "The Attitude Structure of the Individual: A Q-Study of the Educational Attitudes of Professors and Laymen," Genet. Psychol. Monog., 1956, 53, 283-329; "Progressiveness and Traditionalism: Basic Factors of Educational Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 68, 111-135; "Factor Invariance in the Measurement of Attitudes Toward Education," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1961, 21, 273-285; and "The First- and Second-Order Factor Structures of Attitudes Toward Education," American Educational Research Journal, 1967, 4(3), 191-205.

Research Design and Sampling. Only male students aged 22-24 years and/or in the final stages of university study are to be included. Male students more than female students are likely to occupy elite positions in the future and attitudes and values held by students near the end of their studies are likely to fluctuate less and to remain stable over longer time periods than are attitudes and values held by students in their first years of study (cf. Newcomb, 1943).

In order to distinguish between attitudes which change drastically according to the immediate social setting in which the student is living and attitudes reflecting more basic values, the respondents in three or four representative nations will be

interviewed about a year after the first sampling. The purpose of this will be to obtain an estimate of fluctuation and/or "random answers" to the questions. Plans are under consideration to replicate the study with both panels and new samples in several nations in, say, five years, in order to provide a firmer basis for understanding those values which remain constant over longer time intervals and those which do not, and to begin to establish trends. Those who may be interested in carrying out a panel study on the respondents should therefore collect enough information on the students to make it possible later to get in touch with them, names and addresses of respondents, addresses of families, etc. (The time-independent background information on the students is expected to be detailed enough to characterize each student within a sample, uniquely making it possible to pair questionnaires collected now with questionnaires collected later, provided the same background information is asked for again. By pairing the questionnaires in this way, the anonymity of the respondents is kept, since it is not necessary that the respondent identify himself on the questionnaires.)

We recognize that different types of students differ considerably as to the values we are studying. Thus the project aims at representing the variation covered by these different groups within each nation by sampling widely differing groups rather than by random sampling of each student body. Since relatively little is known about differences among student groups within each nation, especially the impact of variables such as area of study, place of residence, future career-patterns, father's social background, etc., no attempt is being made to have identical samples interviewed in all nations.

The three or more samples are to be drawn in each nation from student groups which are likely to differ on the values to be measured. Each sample is preferably to be drawn from one college and it is to be large enough to provide about 100 filled out questionnaires. The results of the data collection thus far show that a return rate of about 50% is normal when the questionnaires are distributed randomly and the respondents are supposed to send back the questionnaires themselves. The questionnaire may either be mailed to the students or distributed during a lecture, group session, etc. The average time for filling out the questionnaire is about one hour.

Broad coverage in the samples derived from each nation will enhance the possibility of analyzing internal national differences, while the usefulness of this research design as an international comparative study depends to a large extent on

the number of nations involved and on whether the international student differences are larger than intra-national sample differences. It is therefore encouraging that a first look at the data collected in the nine nations shows that differences between samples interviewed in the same nation for a substantial number of questions are by and large smaller than the cross-national differences and that the cross-national differences seem to vary in systematic ways (e.g., students in the poor nations consider foreign aid a way for the rich nations to exploit the poor ones, whereas students in the industrialized nations strongly oppose this point of view).

Analysis: This project is largely an exploratory effort in the sense that the data are intended to be used as a guide for theory construction rather than as crucial tests to existing theories. The aim has been to include many issues in the questionnaire--each measured by but a few questions rather than having a few issues measured by many questions. However, the data certainly allow comparative generalizations relating student values to national and international systemic qualities. The data should also allow rather extensive comment on the behavior and attitudes of the students as students at a time when student unrest spans the globe and has led to new intellectual and institutional developments within many nations. Student attitudes and behavior cannot be dismissed as "children's crusades." However, what is necessary for a useful perspective is an emphasis on those qualities of students which have long-range significance, rather than the more momentary activist demonstrations or protest movements.

We believe that what we learn in this study may reveal something about the dominant social-political milieu and processes and outcomes of decision-making in our countries twenty to thirty years from now, and we consider it important to attempt to work out the implications of the study as seen in this perspective. Obviously, each researcher involved in this study will have his own interests in the data and we would guess that the types of analysis in which people will engage will range widely. Our own interests are primarily in relating national characteristics (nation size, level of development, East-West alignment, and so on) to student values and attitudes; on studying the relationship between type of university system/nature of

student life and student values and attitudes; and on attempting to develop a basis for predicting the impact these students will have on the political and social life of their countries in the future. Our argument that these data have considerable predictive power is based on two assumptions which are supported by a number of theoretical and empirical studies.

1. The young people we have studied will themselves be in key roles in the future such that they will help shape the social and political characteristics of their countries. (Or, alternatively, that they are representative of those who will do so.)

2. The values, beliefs, and attitudes which these youth now hold as revealed in their questionnaire responses are stable enough that they will be much the same at that future time of interest.

Each participant will receive cards or tape, as preferred, containing data from all countries. Each is then free to use these data in any way he pleases, and to publish as freely as he pleases. The one restriction on the latter is that no participant should publish analyses based solely on the data from a single country other than his own. The costs of preparing and shipping the materials as well as processing the raw data will be borne by the institutes named at the beginning of this description, whereas costs of local data collection, translation, retranslation, and mailing are to be borne by the researcher in the country. Our plan, devised for reasons of efficiency and economy, is to mail out the data cards or tapes to all participants after all the data have been collected, received, and coded. However, we are well aware that some participants may want to use some of the data for particular types of analysis and research before it has all been processed, so we will mail out available data upon the request of a researcher who has completed his contribution at any given time. It was planned in the proposal for this study to have all data collected by June, 1968. This has clearly not been possible, and we now hope to have all questionnaires collected by December, 1968, and to have the data processed and distributed by early 1969.

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As can be readily seen from the foregoing list of participants, this multi-national effort, which started with four nations agreeing to conduct a small simulation study, is rapidly expanding. Our current plans are to continue the work over the coming months and to issue reports as various phases of the study are completed, including copies of all available articles and papers which grow out of the research. For those who are interested in this work, we suggest that this introductory and background statement and the report by Ruge be kept as the beginning of a file to which further reports can be added as we send them to you. Eventually, we hope to publish our complete simulation and questionnaire findings as a more formal volume, and of course many of these papers will be published as journal articles. In the meantime, the file of reports to which this is the introduction, should prove informative and useful as working papers and preliminary indications of our yet to be integrated findings.

Directions for Future Research

What of future directions for this research? Certainly, the participants in this particular project hope that other interested teams from a variety of countries will join them in future efforts. If collaboration can be successful among a broad, multi-national group despite cultural, language, political and ideological differences, then the social sciences will have made a giant stride away from parochialism and ethnocentricity in conception and data, and towards universalism. If we are to gain a fuller understanding of human behavior, data must be gathered not just on Americans, or Europeans, or Latin Americans, but on all the variety of cultures which inhabit the globe. And this data must not be gathered in isolated and non-comparable circumstances, it must be standardized and exchangeable. Equally as important as a broad data base, however, is surmounting parochialism and ethnocentricity in conceptualizing questions and formulating hypotheses. Only if scholars from a broad variety of cultures, disciplinary backgrounds, and national perspectives pool their thinking, will a truly international social science begin to emerge. Once it does, we will begin to learn the answers to those basic questions which have been stimulating us for years. How do human beings in various cultures really differ and how are they alike? What are the key elements in a culture which determine how people will feel, think, and act? In what ways do the values and world views held in different cultures conflict and in what ways do they complement one another? We might even make real progress towards answering that question which has become so fundamental in the nuclear age! How can the pluralism among the nations of men be used as a basis for community rather than chaos?

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